

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 129121

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO SECDEF HELSINKI USNMR SHAPE
FROM NATO JUNE 27

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 3086

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE-UK "EXPLANATORY" PAPER ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING
MEASURES

HELSINKI FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: USNATO 3060

1. UK DEL HAS CIRCULATED TEXT (SEE BELOW) OF "EXPLANATORY" PAPER
ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES WHICH WILL BE CIRCULATED BY UK
CSCE DEL DURING FIRST STAGE OF CONFERENCE. AT FIRST
GLANCE, PAPER APPEARS GENERALLY REASONABLE, ALTHOUGH IT NATURALLY
REFLECTS CERTAIN KNOWN UK VIEWS. WE CONTINUE HAVE PROBLEM
WITH UK POSITION (PARA 6) THAT "MAJOR" SHOULD BE CLEARLY
DEFINED. WE BELIEVE THIS POINT BETTER HANDLED THROUGH
ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS. UK DELOFF EXPLAINED THAT DUE TO LACK OF
TIME, THIS PAPER HAS NOT RPT NOT BEEF FORMALLY DISCUSSED IN
EC-9 CONTEXT, BUT OTHER MEMBERS OF NINE HAVE BEEN GIVEN RUN-
CONFIDENTIAL

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DOWN ON PAPER'S GENERAL LINES. UK DELOFF ADDED THAT
WORK WAS UNDERWAY IN LONDON ON DRAFT DECLARATION ON CBM'S,
BUT HE SAID HE DOUBTED ANY RESULTS WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR
DISCUSSION EITHER HERE OR IN EC PRIOR TO AUGUST 1.

2. TEXT OF UK PAPER AS FOLLOW:

BRITISH DELEGATION

AGENDA ITEM I-QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE-
CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

1. THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS STATES THAT THE FIRST COMMITTEE "SHALL SUBMIT TO THE CONFERENCE APPROPRIATE PROPOSALS ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES". THE MEASURES PRINCIPALLY ENVISAGED ARE "THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES ON A BASIS TO BE SPECIFIED BY THE CONFERENCE AND THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS BY INVITATION AT MILITARY MANOEUVRES UNDER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS". THE COMMITTEE IS ALSO INSTRUCTED TO "STUDY THE QUESTION OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND SUBMIT ITS CONCLUSIONS". THE AIM OF THIS PAPER IS TO LOOK AT THE CASE FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH THE FIRST COMMITTEE AND THE SUB-COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WHEN SEEKING TO CARRY OUT ITS DIRECTIVE.

2. THE JUSTIFICATION FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES LIES IN THE BELIEF THAT, WHEREAS THE MORE DETAILED ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY, SUCH AS FORCE REDUCTIONS OR DISARMAMENT, ARE MORE SUITABLY CONSIDERED ELSEWHERE IT IS POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY CERTAIN SPERES OF MILITARY ACTIVITY OF A MORE POLITICAL CHARACTER WHICH CAN USEFULLY BE HANDLED IN A CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

3. MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES ARE OBVIOUS EXAMPLES OF SUCH POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT MILITARY ACTITIVITY. THEY HAVE NO IMMEDIATE RELATIONSHIP TO MILITARY CAPACITY OR FORCE LEVELS BUT THEY CAN REFLECT POLITICAL INTENTIONS OR BE DEPLOYED TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. A MANOEUVRE OR EXERCISE IS DESIGNED TO TEST THE READINESS OF THE COUNTRY CARRYING IT OUT TO MEET AN ASSUMED THREAT FROM OUTSIDE OR, IN SOME CASES, ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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ABILITY TO LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST ANOTHER COUNTRY. IT CAN ALSO BE USED AS A WARNING. TO NEIGHBOUR THE OBJECTIVES OF THE COUNTRY CARRYING OUT THE MANOEUVRE MAY OFTEN BE UNCLEAR. HE MAY INTERPRET A MANOEUVRE DESIGNED FOR A DEFENSIVE SITUATION AS AN OFFENSIVE ONE. HE MAY ASSUME THAT IT IS A WARNING WHEN IT IS NOT. SUCH AMBIGUITY CREATES TENSION AND POSSIBLY COUNTER MOVES WHICH CAN SET IN TRAIN AN ESCALATORY PROCESS. EFFECTIVE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES WOULD GREATLY REDUCE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR MISUNDERSTANDING AND SUSPICION.

4. THE ARGUMENTS DEPLOYED ABOVE ARE EVEN MORE TRUE OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS. CERTAIN PARTICIPANTS HAVE VOICED DOUBTS ABOUT THE NEED AND FEASIBILITY OF INCLUDING PRIOR NOTIFICATION

OF MOVEMENTS AS WELL AS MANOEUVRES. IN OUR VIEW A FAILURE TO PROVIDE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS WHILE PROVIDING SUCH NOTIFICATION ON MANOEUVRES WOULD PREJUDICE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE A GREATER CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE. A MOVEMENT, EVEN MORE THAN A MANOEUVRE, CAN IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES BE INTERPRETED AS AN INDICATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITY OF A POTENTIALLY HOSTILE NATURE. IT IS ABOVE ALL THE UNEXPLAINED MILITARY MOVEMENT WHICH CREATES TENSION. PRIOR NOTIFICATION WOULD REDUCE THE RISK. WE HOPE THEREFORE THAT PARTICIPANTS TO THE CONFERENCE WILL SHOW THEIR GOOD FAITH BY AGREEING TO THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

5. AN INVITATION TO OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES TO SEND OBSERVERS TO ATTEND MANOEUVRES WOULD BE A FURTHER DEMONSTRATION OF FRANKNESS AND OF THE INNOCENT INTENTIONS OF THE COUNTRY CARRYING OUT THE MANOEUVRE. DUE TO THEIR NATURE IT WOULD NOT BE FEASIBLE OR NECESSARY FOR OBSERVERS TO BE INVITED TO MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

6. IT MUST BE ACCEPTED THAT THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THESE IDEAS WILL REQUIRE DETALIED AND SUSTAINED STUDY DURING THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE. IT WILL FOR EXAMPLE BE NECESSARY TO DEFINE WHAT A MAJOR MILITARY MANOUVRE IS. THE SIZE AND SCOPE WILL HAVE TO BE CLEARLY AGREED AND THE EXTENT OF INFORMATION WHICH HAS TO BE SUPPLIED FIRMLY LAID DOWN. IF POSSIBLE THE SAME DEFINITION AND AGREEMENT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED ON MOVEMENTS. AT THIS STAGE IT MIGHT BE SUGGESTED THAT ANY MANOEUVRE OR MOVEMENT OF A DIVISION STRENGTH (TAKEN AS 10,000 MEN) OR MORE SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTIFIED. SUCH NOFTIFICATION MIGHT INCLUDE THE NAME OR DESCRIPTION OF THE MANOEUVRE OR MOVEMENT, THE NUMBER OF PERSONNEL INVOLVED; THE PURPOSE, THE TIME-FRAME, THE AREA, THE DEPARTURE AND DESIGNATION OF THE PARTICIPATING UNITS, THE UNIT DESIGNATION AND THE PERIOD OF ABSENCE OF PARTICIPATING UNITS FROM THEIR NORMAL DUTY STATION.

7. THE CONFERENCE MAY ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER IN CERTAIN LIMITED CIRCUMSTANCES MILITARY MANOEUVRES OF LESS THAN DIVISION STRENGTH SHOULD BE NOTIFIED IN ADVANCE. IT SHOULD ALSO BE ESTABLISHED WHETHER THE SAME COULD BE DONE FOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS. GIVEN THE DIFFERING LEVELS OF MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE IT IS CLEAR THAT CASES WILL ARISE WHERE QUITE SMALL MILITARY MANOEUVR MANOEUVRES OR MOVEMENTS COULD CAUSE DISQUIET. THE CONFERENCE MAY THEREFORE WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER, IN ADDITION TO PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANOEUVRES AND MOVEMENTS ABOVE A CERTAIN STRENGTH, IT SHOULD NOT BE LEFT TO THE DISCRETION OF EVERY COUNTRY MOVING FORCES IN A WAY OR SITUATION WHICH COULD CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING OR TENSION TO NOTIFY THESE ALSO. THIS WOULD BE FULLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT OF POLITICAL GOODWILL AND OPENNESS IN MILITARY MATTERS WHICH LIES BEHIND THE PRINCIPLE

OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES.

8. THE FORM OF THE EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND THE NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES WILL DEPEND ON DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN LATER FOR ALL AREAS OF THE AGENDA. IT IS HOWEVER TO BE ASSUMED THAT, SINCE THEIR AIM IS TO PROMOTE CONFIDENCE, THE MEASURES DESCRIBED ABOVE WOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO VERIFICATION. THEY WOULD HOWEVER BE MORALLY BINDING IN THAT PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE FORMALLY COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO PROVIDE PRIOR NOTIFICATION ON A GIVEN BASIS.

ENT TEXT

3. COMMENT: IN VIEW LIKELIHOOD UK WILL TABLE PAPER DURING FIRST STAGE, WE WOULD WELCOME ANY COMMENTS WASHINGTON MAY HAVE, PARTICULARLY ON PROBLEM OF DEFINING "MAJOR", FOR JUNE 28-29 SPC MEETINGS. SINCE PAPER HAS NOT YET BEEN APPROVED BY EC-9, POSSIBILITY OF MAKING CHANGES MAY BE GREATER.
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UNQUOTE ROGERS

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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